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J. B. Plumb

The Opposition Press on

Manitoba and the North-West

THE OPPOSITION PRESS

MANITOBA and the NORTH-WEST.

SPEECH

HON. J. B. PLUMB

IN THE
SENATE OF CANADA.

MONDAY, APRIL 7th, 1884.



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THE OPPOSITION PRESS —ON— MANITOBA AND THE NORTH-WEST.

HON. MR. PLUMB—Before the motion adopted I have to ask the permission of the House to make some remarks on a subject which I promised to bring up before the close of the session. Hon. gentlemen will remember that when I addressed the House upon the representation of the North-West in Parliament, I took occasion towards the close of my remarks to refer to what I deemed a concerted attempt to injure the prospects of the North-West by an unfair and unwarranted statement of the hardships which the settlers were undergoing there, on account, it was alleged, of the climate of the country, the tyranny of the Government, and the grinding monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. I said that there had been in the Opposition Press throughout the country evidences that they were in sympathy with such an attempt. My statement was questioned by my hon. friend the senior member for Halifax, who ventured to contradict it almost directly. I promised him that in the time I would bring forward proofs of my charge. I am now prepared to do so, and I must apologise to him for delaying my reply so long. I did not wish to detain the House on any day when there was much business before it, nor do I wish now unduly to protract its sitting. I have no doubt my hon. friend will be satisfied to know that I have not forgotten my promise, and that I intend to produce as far as time will permit, proofs of my allegations. The official report of the debate, which took place on the 25th of February, contains the following:—

HON. MR. POWER—Will the hon. gentleman be kind enough to tell the House by what name Dakota was held up as such a paradise?

HON. MR. PLUMB—By the Opposition.

HON. MR. POWER—Nothing of the sort.

HON. MR. PLUMB—If the hon. gentleman can show him fifty different quotations.

HON. MR. POWER—One will do.

HON. MR. PLUMB—I could show him fifty; I will produce enough of them in good time, but the hon. gentleman will not take upon himself the responsibility of denying what I say, he will not take the risk of it—I know that perfectly well. If the hon. gentleman has read the newspapers he must know as well as I do that such is the case; it is a patent fact, known to every man who reads the Ontario Opposition papers, that, day after day there are statements in them which are calculated to draw attention to Dakota as having superior advantages for the settler as compared with the North-West. I am therefore astonished that the hon. gentleman should challenge my statement.

HON. MR. POWER—If the hon. gentleman will produce one of his proofs it will do.

HON. MR. PLUMB—Does the hon. gentleman dispute it?

HON. MR. POWER—I doubt it.

HON. MR. PLUMB—Do you deny it? The hon. gentleman does not—

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman knows it would hardly be Parliamentary for me, after he has made a direct statement, to say that statement was untrue, but I say that I very strongly doubt the statement made by the hon. gentleman. I have read the papers pretty carefully, yet I have not seen the statements of which he has spoken.

HON. MR. PLUMB—I will produce ample evidence, should occasion arise, to show the hon. gentleman that my assertion is a perfectly correct one.

Now, I did not assert that Dakota was held up as a paradise; on the contrary the contention of which I complain has been that notwithstanding its inferiority of soil and climate, it offers far greater advantages to the settler than the North-West.

Perhaps it might be well in premising what I have to say, to make a brief statement of the position in which the party to which I have the honor to belong stands in regard to the North-West. It is well known that the acquisition of that territory was made by the Government of the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, and in receiving British Columbia into Confederation an agreement was made to build the

Canadian Pacific Railway, with a view of connecting British Columbia with the other Provinces to which it was politically attached, and of opening up the new possessions of the Dominion. The Government I think claim that they acquired through the Indian treaties and through the title of the Hudson Bay Company the full ownership of that great country. They afterwards set off by legislation the Province of Manitoba, and there being some doubt whether it was within the powers of the Government of Canada to do so, a special Act of the Imperial Parliament was obtained for the purpose of ratifying the arrangement and of authorizing the Government to establish other Provinces in the North-West. In pursuance of the agreement with British Columbia, the Government attempted to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. We are all familiar with the circumstances by which that first attempt was thwarted. In November 1873 the Government of Sir John Macdonald was overthrown, Mr. Mackenzie and his friends came into power, and Parliament was dissolved. The general elections were held in January 1874, and Parliament met in the following March. Within two or three weeks of the close of the session, the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, Minister of Public Works, introduced a Bill to provide for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was to be built either as a Government work or by contract. He made large appropriations of land and very liberal subsidies in money for the purpose, and proposed that there should be, in addition to the actual specific subsidies, such other and further sum as could be agreed upon with contractors on a twenty-five years' subsidy at 4 per cent. interest. In connection with that scheme—and I want to call the attention of the Senate particularly to the fact Mr. Mackenzie's Government, by Order-in-Council, reserved a forty mile belt along the proposed line of the railway, and it was intended that the line should be built across the north end of Lake Manitoba out of the reach of the settlements then existing in Manitoba and of any which have since then grown up in that Province. There was a desire on the part of gentlemen then influential in shaping the policy of the country that the Canadian Pacific Railway should be a commercial rather

than a colonization road. We contended that the line should be primarily a colonization railway, or at all events, should have the characteristics of such a railway as well as of a railway for strictly commercial purposes. It was clear that as the country was then, or is even now situated, it would be useless to build a railway for commercial purposes merely. However, it was intended by the late Government to make it subserve, in directness of line gradients and curves, as much as possible the purposes of commerce. The forty mile belt was strictly reserved; no settler was allowed to go there; he could not get possession of a homestead anywhere on the line. Such was the sympathy for him that he was excluded altogether. The indignation of the public with regard to that restriction was so great that after Mr. Mills was made Minister of the Interior he was compelled, on visiting the North-West, by the clamors of the people, to modify the illiberal policy and to open the lands to settlement. We hear constantly that the present Government has been tyrannical and that it has not favored the settler. What can be imagined more arbitrary than the policy of the late Government in wholly shutting up the country along the line?

HON. MR. POWER—These are not the explanations that the hon. gentleman proposed to give.

HON. MR. PLUMB—If the hon. gentleman rises to a question of order I will sit down.

HON. MR. POWER—I do rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman, by the courtesy of this House, has risen for the purpose of confirming a statement that he made some time ago. Instead of producing evidence to sustain the truth of that statement he is making a speech on the general question of the railway policies of the two Governments.

THE SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman is not speaking on the question, but on a motion to adjourn, very great latitude is allowed.

HON. MR. PLUMB—The Minister, under strong pressure, consented to allow

settlors within the forty mile belt to take homesteads by paying \$1 an acre cash, and by payment of such other and further as the Government might choose to exact. It need hardly be said that settlers stayed away. Those were the regulations which existed with regard to the settlement of Manitoba and the North-West until 1878, when the Government of Mr. Mackenzie was overthrown, at the next general elections, and the present administration came into power. I mention these facts because they are pertinent to the subject which I rose to discuss—pertinent to the attacks which have been made constantly on the land policy of the present Government, as if there had been more liberal regulations in the policy of the Government which preceded it. In 1878, the overthrow of the Mackenzie administration occasioned a change of policy in the North-West, by which the country was thrown open to settlers on the most favorable terms. In 1880, Parliament agreed to reserve 100,000,000 acres of land for building the Canadian Pacific Railway. The gentlemen who were then leading the Opposition stated that it was a perfectly futile thing to attempt to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, by any such reservation. They said, "you might as well try to build it with 100,000,000 acres of land," and the two leaders of the Opposition cried the North-West, and spoke of it as a country with an inhospitable climate where settlers would have to endure great privations. One of them drew a contrast between the condition of the settler there and that of the settler in Kansas, so greatly in favor of the latter that it is quoted by the Kansas land agents with the honorable gentleman's portrait as a frontispiece, while the other made an almost equally eloquent appeal in favor of Texas. I mention these circumstances to show that there has been no disposition from the first, on the part of the opponents, to thwart and impede the progress of settlement in the North-West, which has been especially manifested since the present Government came in. After passing the Tariff Act the next subject that engaged the attention of the Minister was the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I shall not recount the steps which were taken; suffice it to say that every movement of the Government in

respect of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway met with the bitterest opposition. The condition of the country was studiously misrepresented, and its ability to undertake the work denied. The finances of the country, we were told, were not adequate to the burden that would be thrown upon it, and Mr. Mackenzie himself, on the floor of the House, stated that notwithstanding the enormously liberal terms which he had offered—20,000 acres of land and \$10,000 a mile of subsidy—and another and further sum of four per cent, on such sum, as the contractor might offer, although he was zealously assisted by Sir John Rose and Mr. Sanford Fleming in England, he had never been able to get a single bid. His terms involved 55,000,000 acres of land, and nearly fifty millions of dollars in cash subsidies, according to the proposition made by the late Mr. Foster, on a four per cent. basis, for the Georgian Bay Branch. We succeeded in making a contract for the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway upon much more favorable terms. We have constantly been attacked for having endeavored to guard that contract in such a way as to bring the traffic of the North-West down to the older provinces which furnished the money for the purpose of constructing the Railway. It was the policy of this Government that there should be a continuous line round the north shore of the lakes which should bring traffic to Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. That policy has also been attacked constantly, from first to last. It was a necessary part of that policy that railways running southward into the States should not be permitted to tap the line west of Lake Superior. That has been charged as a grinding monopoly upon the people of the North-West, but could the late Government, if the line had been constructed as a Government work, have done otherwise? Would they have permitted the traffic to be diverted? Mr. Mackenzie's refusal to give up control of the Pembina Branch answers these questions. The continuation of attacks such as I have indicated have had the most serious effect upon the prosperity of that part of the Dominion. Every device that could be contrived to prejudice the minds of settlers and of intending settlers has been resorted to for the purpose of hindering the development of the country, by embarrass-

sing the Government and the railway. A favorite method has been to attack the land policy of the Government; another to represent that the Canadian Pacific Railway was a grinding pitiless monopoly, ruining itself by its monstrous exactions; another to represent that the people of the North-West were in a state of revolt under the tyranny of the present Government, and that their future relations with the Dominion were uncertain. It has been stated,—and I have abundant evidence before me to prove that such statements have been made,—that the policy of the Government and of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was driving hundreds and thousands of settlers out of the country who had been disappointed and had been forced to migrate to the adjoining territories in the United States. Particularly it has been asserted that such has been the case with reference to Dakota. The Opposition Press have constantly, in speaking of the exodus of the People from the North-West, referred to Dakota as the place to which they were going to escape from illiberal land regulations, high freights and a grinding tariff on agricultural implements and other articles of consumption in the North-West. That is to say, they were flying from a tariff averaging twenty-two and a half per cent, to a country whose tariff was nearly double on the very same articles of consumption. They were escaping, as it were, from the frying pan and jumping into the fire.

The *Globe* has favoured us, in its attacks upon a protective tariff, with the following illustration of the advantages the United States offered to the agricultural consumer. These are the reduced duties proposed, but not enacted last year. We can imagine what the unreduced tariff may be. Here is the list to which the happy settler in Dakota must contribute:—

"First comes his kitchen. The iron his stove is made of, 45 per cent.; hollow-ware, pots, and kettles, 53 per cent.; copper and brass utensils, if any, 45 per cent.; crockery, of the commonest kind, 55 per cent.; glassware, of the cheapest kind, 45 per cent.; table cutlery and spoons, 45 per cent.; pickled or salted fish, 25 per cent.; salt, 36 per cent.; sugar, 42 per cent.; vinegar, 36 per cent.; pickles, 36 per cent.; rice, 123 per cent.; oranges and other foreign fruits, about 20 per cent. Then comes the farmer or mechanic's parlour, on whose contents he pays duties as follows, the amount of the duties being added by the home

manufacturer:—Carpets, if made of druggets, 74 per cent.; carpet, if made of tapestry, 68 per cent.; furniture, 35 per cent.; wall paper, 25 per cent.; window curtains, 45 per cent.; looking glass, from 35 to 60 per cent.; ornaments or knick-knacks, 35 per cent. Next comes the farmer's wardrobe:—Men's clothing, of wool, 48 per cent.; woollen hosiery and undershirts, 45 per cent.; woollen hats and caps, 75 per cent.; gloves, 50 per cent.; blankets, 60 per cent.; alpaca dresses, 60 per cent.; any other woollen dresses, from 60 to 70 per cent.; pair of scissors, 45 per cent.; brass pins, 30 per cent.; hairpins, 45 per cent.; penknives, 50 per cent.; needles, 25 per cent.; steel pens, 45 per cent.; ink, 25 per cent.; paper, 20 per cent.; razors, 45 per cent. Finally here are various other contents of the farmer's house and barn on which he must needlessly pay duty:—Castor oil, 102 per cent.; Castile soap, 31 per cent.; a dose of Epsom salts, 30 per cent.; insect powder, 20 per cent.; ealad oil, 34 per cent.; the commonest window glasses for his house, 80 per cent.; paint, white lead for his farm-house, 34 per cent.; bricks, 35 per cent.; roofing slates, 50 per cent.; horse-shoe nails, 31 per cent.; trace chains, 53 per cent.; a handsaw, 40 per cent.; files, 40 per cent.; spool thread, 60 per cent.; bags and bagging for his grain, 40 per cent.; a burrstone, 20 per cent.; combs and brushes, 30 per cent.; a wooden pipe, 80 per cent.; an alpaca umbrella, 50 per cent.; any iron or steel he may need, an average of 45 per cent.

These were the duties proposed on what was called the revised tariff of last year, which the secretary of the treasury officially reports will, with the other taxes exacted, yield for 1885, \$106,000,000 more than is required for the support of the Government economically administered. As adopted, this revised tariff enacted a few changes from the above list, but of how little account tariff 'revision' may be gathered from the fact that an official treasury report made last month, states that average reduction effected by that revision is less than 5 per cent. from the old war tariff.

I think it can be shown that most agricultural implements can be purchased in Winnipeg at a lower price than in Chicago, and that the land regulations in Dakota or any other part of the United States cannot be compared in liberality with those in this country. I propose to show also before I sit down that the tariff of freights along the Canadian Pacific Railway, notwithstanding the representation of a gentleman who I am sorry to say is not in his place now, are lower on the Canadian Pacific Railway than on the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific or the St. Paul and Manitoba, for the same kinds of freight.

I have not gone back, in order to

port the allegation which I have made, regard to the Opposition press further the first of July last. From that to the present time the columns of leading Opposition newspapers in Ontario have teemed with incitements to the people of the North-West to revolt against the Government. They have labored in every way to foment the discontent of those people. There are over seventy articles published in one newspaper between July and January, all of which are written, I might say, with the same nefarious object. Almost every complaint which has been published in the North-West papers, every charge against the Government or the railway, no matter how absurd or imaginary it may have been, has been admitted to the columns of the *Globe*, and there has never been, so far as I can discover, an attempt made by its editors to modify the wildest statements, but on the contrary they have been encouraged and endorsed. Misstatements have been made, not only in the editorial columns of the *Globe*, but in extracts from other papers which have been published either without comment or with comment of approval. During the whole of the six months, from July to December, I cannot find a single article in the *Globe* which recommends the people of the North-West to state their grievances patiently and fairly, and to trust to an appeal to the Government or to Parliament, if they have such grievances, to get them rectified; but they are incited to immediately demand what they want with threats and threats. We are told in the *Globe* that the people of the North-West mean business; that they threaten to burn down the elevators and tear up the railway tracks of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and such alarming statements are made without words of counsel to the people to be prudent and to pursue a legitimate course for the redress of their grievances. We are told in almost every number of that paper that thousands and thousands are going across the border and seeking homes in Dakota. They do not refer to other parts of the United States, but by implication they recommend Dakota only, for that is the point which is constantly mentioned. There is but one article which I can find which refers to any other State as a place of refuge, and

that is a letter from a correspondent who states that there are 4,000 Canadians residing in Minneapolis. I might say in reply that I think it can be easily shown that there are more than 4,000 Americans residing in Winnipeg, and I have no doubt that my hon. friend Dr. Schultz, who, I am glad to see, is in the House again, will corroborate my statement.

It will be remembered that the first line of construction selected for the Canadian Pacific Railway was far north of the then settled portions of the country. So much exasperation was felt at the time, that one of the most devoted followers of the Government of that day, a member from Manitoba, joined our party on account of what he conceived to be the great injustice that was done to the part of the country in which he lived, by the selection of the northern location for the line. It passed for many miles through a succession of muskegs. As an illustration of the character of the country, I may mention that a gentleman who was building the telegraph line there—a gentleman whose name is well known; I think he was either a contractor or a sub-contractor—Mr. John W. Sifton—was present when one of his men was climbing up a telegraph pole to place the insulator upon its top. As he went up, the pole sank down, and when he arrived at its top found himself on a level with the ground. He stepped off, and as he did so the pole, with a sound like a cork from a soda water bottle, popped out and fell on the ground.

I could give numerous other extracts from the *Globe* subsequent to the 1st July in support of my position that it has covertly in many instances, and openly in many others, shown inveterate hostility to the liberal land policy of the present Government, the Pacific Railway, and the development of the country through which it runs, and that it has covertly and injuriously promoted the interests of the neighboring territory of Dakota, the Canadianization of which is one of its favorite topics; but I will pass over several others and turn now to the *Globe* of the 22nd of August, where I find the following characteristic *morceau*:

"We learn on credible authority that Mr. Peter McLaren, who is so good a Tory and so powerful a man in a party sense that Sir John jeopardized confederation to give him

the monopoly of a floatable stream, has formed a most peculiar opinion of the Canadian North-West. It seems that, speaking to a young friend who had taken up land in Manitoba, he declared that he would not buy land there, as the Syndicate had killed that country. As emphasizing his belief that the Canadian North-West must be suffering from the influence of the Syndicate, he has invested some \$12,000 in Dakota and proposes to send his son to begin farming on the lands."

HON. MR. POWER—Well, what of that?

HON. MR. PLUMB—Wait a moment. On the 28th of August I find the following:

"With reference to the statement made in the *Globe* a few days ago concerning Mr. Peter McLaren having invested in Dakota lands, we are now informed that Mr. McLaren does not own a foot of land in Dakota, and that the statement is therefore untrue."

Very soon afterwards the *Globe* published, on the authority of their Ottawa correspondent, that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had refused to take any land west of Qu'Appelle, owing to its inferior character, afterwards another article in its editorial columns was published, showing how superior was the location made by Mr. Mackenzie's Government of the line north of Lake Manitoba. I quote both:

"The latest map has been issued by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, showing their land locations. It appears the Company have declined to accept any lands in the main line of their road, west of Qu'Appelle, but have selected lands along the route surveyed by the late Government, in the Peace River district and Qu'Appelle Valley. Some lands have also been taken in the Turtle Mountain district. The Pacific Syndicate, in order to save distance and cost of construction, have been allowed to deflect their line to the southward over an alkaline plain, but they are careful to select their lands elsewhere, as their contract entitles them to do. Their action shows the wisdom of Mr. Mackenzie's proposal to construct a railway by the Northern route."

"Now, what are the 'facts' referred to? One of them is that the main line of the railway has, to serve the Company's own ends, been made to run for hundreds of miles through a region which the Company themselves virtually declare to be unfit for settlement. Another is that the tendency of settlement has from the first been away from the railway instead of along it, west of Qu'Appelle. Another is that the Company have declined to accept the lands along the railway as part of their subsidy, and are asking to have the privilege of selecting them in the

fertile belt where the railway was intended to run, and where the Company should have been compelled to construct it."

"Just as the contented settler is the best possible immigration agent, so the aggrieved one is the most effective deterrent of immigration. If the land west of Qu'Appelle is as bad as the Canadian Pacific Company themselves declare it to be, what possible good can be accomplished for either themselves or the country, by misrepresenting its real character? The immigrant who settles on it will soon find out all about it, and having been induced to settle there on false pretences, he will cherish a very natural hostility for those who have deceived and ruined him. We have never said anything deprecatory to the North-West as a whole. We have gone to considerable expense to make its great natural resources and agricultural capacity known to the world. The *Globe* has done more in this direction than the Government and the Canadian Pacific Company combined; but we have never described the North-West as an unbroken agricultural paradise. We have known for years that the mid-southern portion of the territory was occupied by the northern part of a comparative desert that runs far south into the United States. We pointed this out long ago, and warned the country of the injury that would be done to all parties if the railway were allowed to be deflected through this arid region instead of keeping it within the fertile belt, to which the settlers are even now going in preference to following the line of the road."

"The announcement that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have refused to accept any portion of their land subsidy along their main line west of Qu'Appelle, will not surprise anyone who has watched the course of events. By their agreement with the Government they are not required to take any odd numbered sections which 'consist, in a material degree, of land not fairly fit for settlement.' By the same agreement the land subsidy was to be located along the main line of the railway 'from Winnipeg to Jasper House,' that is, through what is known as the Fertile Belt. The obvious intention of the clause is that the road should run through a tract of country the chief part of which is good agricultural land, and that the Company should be permitted to reject such occasional sections as might happen to be largely unfit for agricultural purposes. To please the Company the Government allowed this agreement to be violated. The former have been permitted to divert their main line so far to the south that for hundreds of miles it runs through land which is, on their own admission, unfit for settlement. When they asked for such an alteration of the contract in their favor, they should have been warned that they would still be compelled to take the chief part of their land subsidy along the line of the railway. They knew what the lands they wished to traverse are like. Their general character

been known for a quarter of a century. They constitute the northern portion of a great American desert which is projected like the tip of a cone into Canadian territory, but which does not run so far north as the route adopted by Mr. Mackenzie for the railway. In making such a change of scheme with their eyes open, and avowedly for their own benefit, they should now be held to their agreement and compelled to accept their lands where they have chosen to run their road.

Will the Government accede to this most reasonable request of the railway Company? Unfortunately there is very little ground for doubt. The Company have had many requests to prefer since they undertook the work, and their requests have always been met more like demands made than favors asked for. As demands to be complied with, and not favors to be granted, they have evidently been regarded by the Government. They have been able, heretofore, to get what they wanted, and there is only too much reason to believe that they have not parted with any of the power they are able to exercise over the Government whenever they feel disposed to do so. Moreover, these indications are strongly in favor of the view that the Government have all along contemplated capitation, like Crockett's coon, whenever the predicate rifle might be pointed at them. They have been reserving a large tract of fine farming land in southern Manitoba, off which immigrants have been persistently warned, to the utter disgust of thousands of intending settlers. They have been reserving other large tracts in the fertile belt, for what purpose, unless as Syndicate preserves, no one seems to know. At all events the railway Company have not hesitated to indicate on their maps where they mean to select their lands. Whether the Government will make any difficulty about allowing them to go where they please appears to be a matter of secondary importance, if indeed the acceptance of their interpretation of the bargain is not a forgone conclusion or a matter of pre-arrangement."

Now, we will see what Mr. Stephens has to say about it. On the 10th of September, 1883, he writes as follows to the *Globe*:

Sir,—I observe that two articles published in the *Globe* on Saturday, the 8th instant, contain statements substantially as follows:

- 1.—That the main line of this Company's railway has been made to run for hundreds of miles through a country which the Company themselves declare to be unfit for settlement.
- 2.—That the Company have refused to grant any portion of their land subsidy in the railway lying along the main line west of Qu'Appelle.

The articles in question assume these statements to be correct, and base upon them a number of observations, conveying the impression that the whole of the railway belt from Qu'Appelle to Calgary is admitted by

the Company to be part of the great American desert, and to fall within the exception in the contract with the Government which excludes from the land grant lands not fairly fit for settlement.

"As these statements could not have been made in language better calculated to mislead the public, to injure this Company, and to retard the settlement of the North-West, even if they had been prompted by the most bitter and malignant desire to attain those objects, and as they do not merely purport to convey the opinions of the *Globe*, but profess to state the views and to describe the acts of the Company, I feel it necessary to correct any erroneous impression the articles might create, by stating the facts.

"I have therefore to say that the assertions in the articles in question as to the character of the land along the main line of the railway west of Qu'Appelle, and as to the views of this Company in respect of that land, are utterly and absolutely unfounded.

"That this Company have not, either virtually or directly, admitted or declared the lands in the railway belt west of Qu'Appelle to be in any degree unfit for settlement.

"That this Company have not refused or declined to accept any land west of Qu'Appelle as a portion of their land subsidy.

"I might content myself with the foregoing categorical denial of the statements made. But to prevent misconception, I desire to add that this Company have not contemplated, and do not contemplate, refusing or declining to accept any of the uneven numbered lots in the railway belt west of Qu'Appelle as part of their land grant, except in so far as any particular section, for some special reason, may not be fairly fit for settlement; that this Company have examined a large portion of the territory referred to, and are satisfied not only that it is in a material degree fairly fit for settlement, but that to a large extent it consists of as fine farming land as is to be found in the North-West Territories or in any part of Canada; and as respects the portion of the territory not yet specially examined, they have no reason to doubt that it is of equally good quality.

"I have further to request you to be good enough to give this letter insertion in your paper, in order that the statement of this Company may receive as wide a circulation as the article to which it refers.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. STEPHEN,

President.

Commenting on this, the *Globe* says:

"This is on the whole a reassuring letter. The public will be glad to have Mr. Stephen's opinion of the lands along the line of railway west of Qu'Appelle, his disclaimer on his company's behalf of any intention to decline these lands, and his implied admission that our view of the obligation resting upon the

Company in the matter of accepting lands adjacent to the line is the correct one. We regret that the testimony borne by Mr. Stephen to the value of the lands between Qu'Appelle and, say, Medicine Hat is not endorsed by all those who travelled over this region, some of whom we have heretofore regarded as competent and disinterested observers; but since the Railway Company have determined to accept these lands as being in general 'fairly fit for settlement,' we do not feel disposed to press that view of the matter as against them.

"We pointed out in one of the articles referred to by Mr. Stephen, that when the contract with the Company was entered into the obvious intention of Parliament was to have the railway lands chosen along the line of the railway, excepting only such occasional sections as might from local causes be unfit for settlement. We contended then that when the Company were permitted to change the line of the railway in their own interest, they should have been allowed to do so only on the condition that they must select their lands along the new route, as the original contract bound them to do along the old one. We are glad to see that Mr. Stephen, for the Company, practically accepts this view of the bargain between them and the Government, and to have his express assurance that the lands will be selected on this principle. He emphasizes the exception of sections "not fairly fit for settlement," but we are not disposed, in the fact of the accompanying assurance, to lay any stress on that point, and we are quite willing to leave it to time and the event to shew how many sections, or what proportion of the lands in the railway belt, may be rejected by the Company."

That is the kind of backing out by which the *Globe* attempted to reaffirm its malicious falsehood. It will be seen that the correspondent of the *Globe* at Ottawa, first made the statement, and that it was indorsed by the *Globe* afterwards. In the month of August the *Globe* had published a letter from its editorial correspondent, stating that he had been along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that for miles there was not a tree or shrub to be found; he said that a large portion of the country that consisted of sand hills, and that the lands were unsatisfactory, then what did he say also? He said "I regret to say that the hostile attitude of the Indian population, and the manner in which they are armed, is exciting grievous apprehensions in this vicinity." The insinuation is, of course, that possibly the settlers might lose their scalps, or that there was danger of uprising and massacre. That was the way the *Globe* encouraged settlement. Within a fortnight after the publi-

cation of that statement the *Liverpool Courier*, of August 22nd, published an editorial article which began with saying, that the Northern Pacific railway was soon to be opened and that a large delegation of capitalists, scientists, politicians and business men of England had been invited to make an excursion over it. It continues thus:—

"A considerable portion of the line is said to run through fertile country, but it is also undoubtedly a fact that a considerable portion passes through a sterile and unpromising district, which is confirmed by numerous representatives of the Canadian press, expressly told off to say a good word if possible. Again, it is generally agreed that the locality of the road is such as to render close settlement, a highly important factor, practically impossible, and that is the main reason for many intending settlers of the Canadian North-West becoming disheartened and going elsewhere. The demeanor of the Indians also, is said to be far from favorable, and the manner in which they are armed is calculated to excite apprehension."

Could anything be more atrocious than the instigation of such an article. It contains the very words used by the *Globe* about fourteen days before. Now, the same statement was made by the *London Advertiser*. Immediately those statements were published, the Bishop of Saskatchewan wrote a letter to the press contradicting them, with respect to the Indians, and saying that they were never more docile, and had never shown greater inclination to peaceable pursuits, and to turning their attention to getting their living by agriculture—thus the facts were exactly the opposite of the statement made by the *Globe* and copied into the *Liverpool Courier*. I will read in this connection, an article from the *Montreal Herald*:

"There has been apparent in the *Globe* a malignant spirit, the evidence of a rule or ruin policy—a determination to accomplish its political purposes regardless of the consequences to the higher interests of the country. It is useless for it to pretend that its attempt to prevent settlement in the Canadian North-West, and its puffery of Dakota and other parts of the United States North-West are the result of its regard for Canadian interests. It need not declare that the slanders it has raised upon all who have had to do with the opening up of the North-West in recent years are intended to promote the prosperity of that country, because no one is silly enough to believe it. What the country sees, what all unprejudiced people understand, is that great public interests are imperilled and

eat wrongs committed by a journal which was a real friend of the country whose prospects it would now blight in order to reach ulterior political end. The writers in the *Globe* are only deceiving themselves if they imagine the public eye does not penetrate the m of false pretences with which they would surround their attacks on the great North-west. Their motives are plainly understood, their object is as clear as the noon-day, and their methods are generally condemned as patriotic and injurious to the party with which the *Globe* has been allied in the past."

The *Herald* has always been a prominent supporter of the Opposition. I now leave the *Globe* for a moment and take up the *Brantford Expositor*. I find the following:

"There are Canadians we know of to-day who bought land in both Manitoba and Dakota at the same time and for the same money. The land in the one place is equally valuable as in the other, yet now, while others of six dollars an acre in cash are made for this Dakota property the Manitoba land cannot be got rid of at any price, or two dollars an acre at the most."

I wonder if that could be considered speaking well of the North-West or not. On the 12th of September the following statement appears in the editorial columns of the *Globe*:

"Professor Tanner has returned to Toronto from the North-West, and although he is reluctant to anticipate his formal report, which will be published immediately on his return to England, he states that he does not find the land and water of that uniform high quality which some have described it. With diligent care and proper exercise of good management both may be obtained he says of a satisfactory character, and under conditions which will favor successful results. He did not limit his journey to the railroad, which runs through land greatly below the average quality, but drove in direct contact with farmers holding the lands. His report is valuable as regards crops &c.

Now, let us see what Professor Tanner has said. I have given the *Globe* reviewer's version; it was half-hearted and discouraging. The attempt is made to present Prof. Tanner as saying that the experience of the North-West did not prevent him in speaking favorably of that country. Now, there has been no more enthusiastic visitor to the North-West than the same Prof. Tanner, and I may say before the interview was published, probably in order to prepare for it, the reviewer said, referring to Prof. Tanner's

report on the model farm in Guelph, that he was the highest, and perhaps the most trustworthy authority in his particular department. What then does Prof. Tanner say in his own report? (I am indebted to a friend for a copy of the report itself which has been placed in my hand since I rose to speak.) He gives an astounding contradiction to his interviewer. In his opening remarks he says:

"Emigration may be compared to a stream of wealth-producing power flowing into a new country, and as there are zealous agents for various countries eagerly seeking to secure as large a share as possible of that stream, so we soon find the contest becoming sharp and active. In the early stages the work is generally fair and legitimate, for the agents simply seek to place before intending emigrants the important advantages of the countries or districts they severally represent. This is too commonly followed by a series of misstatements as to the countries and districts which are represented by opposing agents. In order that the attention of emigrants may be secured to these misrepresentations, it is found necessary to make them very pungent and very startling, otherwise little or no notice would be taken of them. In this way rival agents whose duty it is to turn emigrants from Canada, find that the best way for doing so is to give some heartrending narrative of the miseries, and possibly the ruin which befel some emigrant who went to Canada. The person who is thus addressed cannot possibly judge whether the narrative be true or false, and thus in many cases he is led to believe that there must be some truth in the tale, because so many people tell him of similar difficulties and misfortunes. He appears to forget that for each Canadian agent there will be ten or a dozen representatives of other districts.

"One illustrative fact may be useful at this point, although it is but one of 10,000. I shall have occasion hereafter to draw attention to the very successful settlement which has been established in the North-West of Canada, by the assistance rendered to her tenantry by Lady Gordon-Cathcart. As the first detachment of her settlers were travelling to their destination, it became necessary for them to pass through a portion of the United States in consequence of the Canadian Pacific Railway being then incomplete."

And it is intended, if the policy of the gentlemen in Opposition could be carried out that it shall remain incomplete—that emigrants shall pass through the United States unless they travel to the North-West during the season of navigation. He continues:—

"In doing so they were met by a number of persons who were to all appearance ordinary

fellow travellers. These urged them to remain in the States, whilst the extraordinary accounts they gave of the North-West of Canada filled their minds with disappointment and fear. Some said they could not escape the fearful floods of the spring, others assured them they would be baked by the fearfully hot summer, whilst another group knew perfectly well that they would be frozen in winter. As they proceeded they gradually discovered the trick which had been played upon them, and they laughed at the doubts which had been so easily raised.

"And now that you have settled here, what do you think of this place?" I enquired of one of the party.

"Aye sir," he reverently replied, "it is really a Godly country."

Incidents such as these are simply numberless in their variety and form, for there are large numbers of persons who are thus employed throughout the emigration season, and whose duty it is to persuade emigrants to settle in some other district than that to which they are journeying, and these agents are remunerated according to their success. In the instance which I have quoted, the deception was attempted in the United States, but I need scarcely say that there is no monopoly of virtue on either side of the Boundary Line for if it is six to one it is half a dozen to the other.

"It has been a source of much surprise to me that so very large a proportion of these lands should be of such a thoroughly useful character, and it is certainly undesirable to give an undue prominence to small portions which may be supposed to possess objectionable conditions."

That is not the tone the *Globe* used in speaking of Professor Tanner's report. He continues:—

"Even if it be admitted (as has been stated) that the Canadian Pacific Railway does run through a district having, in some parts, a rather larger proportion of alkali land than is usual, it is also true that if you drive away from the railway, either on the north or on the south of the line, this alkali almost immediately disappears. When the route of this railway had to be decided upon, various considerations influenced the minds of the engineers engaged upon the work, beside the quality of the land. The imperial requirements and the economy of construction doubtless received due consideration, and I venture to entertain a confident hope that any difficulties arising from alkali land will soon be known only as a thing of the past. Rather let every well-wisher of Canada rejoice that the glorious result of opening up so many thousands of square miles of valuable prairie land has been so promptly accomplished at so small a cost to the colony, and especially at a time when it will offer a home to many thousands who seek for the land which now lies ready for their use. Here, then, wheat lands are avail-

able which even the strongest opponent of Canada must admit are unsurpassed in the world, and as these become occupied by successful cultivators they will not only produce an enormous amount of freight for the railway but they will become large consumers of English manufactures, and they will give a power to Canada in which every patriot will rejoice.

"They soon commenced ploughing the turf of the prairies, simply covering in their potatoes with the fresh-turned turf. They also sowed their wheat and oats upon the newly turned sod. Very rough styles of farming, many will be disposed to say, still it must be remembered that they had no choice, but the results caused them no regret. Within eight weeks from the time of planting the potatoes they were digging their new crop, and before two weeks had passed I had some of those potatoes for dinner, and I do not hesitate to say that for size, flavor and maturity they were excellent.

"On account of the bracing, dry atmosphere the fluctuations of temperatures are not inconveniently felt, as is the case where the atmosphere is more humid. The warm days in summer are generally followed by cool evenings, and such a thing as very sultry and oppressive heat is scarcely known. The warm days, followed by cool nights and copious dews, facilitate the growth of cereals in wonderful degree. The winters here are also very pleasant and bracing, proceeding from the same cause, namely the dryness of our atmosphere.

"It is a significant fact that, in the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway through Manitoba, the work has not been delayed a single day by reason of the weather being too severe for the men to continue the work. Possibly, if Manitoba had not been such a very attractive district, its climate would never have been so thoroughly misrepresented.

"I find that the reports which have been so industriously circulated, and which describe in such extravagant language the destructive character of the Canadian climate, the bad quality of the water, the large quantity of alkali land, and the distress and lack of prosperity amongst the settlers, are either contrary to the facts of the case, or serious exaggerations of perfectly exceptional conditions. I find that these reports have been industriously circulated with the direct object of diverting the flow of emigration from Canada."

"These are hasty extracts taken from a report which has been in my hands but a few minutes. I think they will show how unfair, how untrue to the interests of the North-West is that article of the *Globe* which called attention to the fact that Professor Tanner had said that he does not find the land or the water of that uniformly bad quality which some have described, but

with prudence, care, and a proper use of judgment both may be obtained of satisfactory character. It does not say a word of the enthusiastic statement of this gentleman has made. No other evidence is needed to show the animus of the paper which I had in my eye when I stated what the hon. gentleman chose to challenge me for. In Mr. Hardy's *Edmonton* organ of November 19th there is an extract from a letter from a gentleman who settled in Dakota as follows:

"I am really flourishing out here. My place and I have two drug stores and each one of 320 acres. How is that for one man's work?"

One might say that a country where agriculturists greatly prosper is not the most desirable one for other settlers, but Dakota might be recommended even if it is only a good market for medicines.

On the 21st November, the *Globe* quotes the following from the *Edmonton Bulletin*—

"While Governmental injustice and popular discontent, lack of immigration and dull times, are prevalent in the North-West, the inferior adjoining lands of Minnesota and Dakota are being up rapidly, and a very large percentage of the incoming population are Canadians."

Commenting on this, the *Globe* says:—

"The American press is already holding out to our distressed brethren active sympathy, promises of help. In one day's exchanges find nearly a dozen of the most influential men in the Union telling the people of Manitoba they must break with the Dominion, which is treating them so scandalously. Let there be no more of ostrich-like tucking of the head in the sand and refusing to see what is going on to everybody. The organization movement of Manitoba means business. It means that justice must be done. Ottawa methods must be revolutionized, and that quickly."

At the farmers' meeting in Manitoba, reported in the *Winnipeg Sun*, and the report reproduced in the *Globe*, one of the speakers said:—

"It is all very well to talk of loyalty to the Dominion, but we must be loyal to ourselves and to our families, and I fail to see how we can be loyal to ourselves and to them if we longer submit to this arbitrary and despotic Government by which we are at present controlled. Gentlemen, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am no annexationist. I could be sorry to see Britain despoiled of any of her Provinces. But if the oppressive rule of Ottawa is to continue any longer, I

fear that the secession of this Province from the Dominion of Canada will be inevitable."

There is no remonstrance on the part of the *Globe*, no suggestion that it would be better for the people to come in a temperate manner to the Government and explain their grievances and seek legitimately to have them redressed. The same article states that not having access to the proper markets, grain cannot be profitably grown in Manitoba. If that is so, it strikes at the whole future of the North-West. There is no refutation of that in the *Globe*; it publishes the statement and seems to gloat over it.

Then, the *Globe* states:—

"It is bad enough that 30,000 Canadians are now in a few of the northern counties alone of Dakota, who should be on our side of this line. It is worse that the tide of immigration has been turned away by misgovernment."

HON. MR. POWER—Hear, hear! misgovernment!

HON. MR. PLUMB—The *Globe* reproduces an article from the *New York Sun* on the Manitoba movement, which it describes as "perhaps the best American article which has yet appeared on the subject of the North-West Troubles." The *Sun* article is as follows:

"While Dakota has divided against itself, a number of excited citizens in the bordering Province of Manitoba are uniting in the resolve to get better treatment from the Dominion Government or else to cast their fortunes with Dakota and the United States. The grumbling of the sturdy Briton and of the mercurial French Canadian re-echoes along the sad Assiniboine, and is borne along to the lodging houses of Winnipeg, 'the first city of the great North-West.'"

"In fact, there is a very serious state of things in Manitoba, and we take pleasure in calling the attention of our esteemed contemporaries in Canada and England, who have always afforded so much encouragement to the rebels of other nations, to these possible rebellious and certainly very angry persons in the North-West."

"The causes of the excitement which now prevails among the Manitobans are comparatively few, but they are definite enough, so that it cannot be difficult for the statesmen of the Dominion to investigate the alleged grievances and to take steps to remedy them, if they are found to exist."

There is an immense area, of territory in Manitoba upon which no settlement have

been made. The Manitobans assert that their land and the management of it belong to them, and that the Dominion Government ought to let it alone, instead of attempting to pass laws in regard to it. They insist that the financial policy and the railroad policy of the Dominion Government are against the interests of Manitoba. They say that this Province can never be prosperous while the Canadian Pacific Railroad enjoys a monopoly and charges exorbitant freight rates. These rates are so high as to make it almost impossible to send to market the agricultural products, on the sale of which at a profit the settlers must mainly rely for support. They demand that charters shall be granted to competing railroads, and denounce the Dominion Government for refusing such charters. They insist that the present high protective tariff is a permanent check to the growth of the Province. The high duty on agricultural implements is an especial grievance. It either keeps out of the Province persons who would otherwise settle there or it becomes a heavy burden on all persons who are engaged in agriculture."

I call especial attention to the closing paragraph, which sounds somewhat strangely in view of the items already quoted from the enormous prohibitory tariff of the United States. The article also states that there does not seem to be "any immediate probability that the tariff will be reduced to any sufficient extent." It seems to have been written in with unconsciousness of the exorbitant United States Tariff, and of the unavailing attempts that have been made to modify it. There is no prospect held out to the settler in the United States that their tariff, which is double ours, will be reduced. The *Sun* thinks the *Globe* is mistaken in saying that the Manitoba agitation is not an annexationist movement, because the *Globe* admits that

"Before even entertaining the thought of breaking off from the Federation, they will do everything in their power by constitutional means to arouse the Government and country to a sense of duty; and failing in that, after a reasonable time, they certainly will adopt other means for securing their rights, and they will be justified in so doing."

What the other means will be is evident. The *Free Press* goes on to say:—

"At the present time there is intense feeling against the Government in several sections of the country—much more intense than is generally supposed. But little would be required to stir it into actual violence. We have sufficient confidence in the good sense of the people, however, to believe that they will not allow themselves to be led into any demonstration of hostility. Let them give the Gov-

ernment no rest until their wrongs are righted."

"There is a fine little tempest brewing in Manitoba, and we shall watch it carefully. A studied appearance of moderation and an organization by delegates and representative bodies have preceded greater revolutions than Manitoba is likely to produce. But the process is interesting, and the Dominion Government will probably yield."

Here is another instance of fanning the flame of the country at which the *Globe* has so long been busy:—

"Testimony is rapidly accumulating to prove the utterly fatuous character of the Government's North-West land regulations. Even lifelong Conservatives are awakening to the magnitude of the mistake that has been made, and are protesting against the Government's game of playing directly into the hands of Dakota. That the honestly intentional squatter should be held entitled to no remuneration for the improvements effected by him is an outrage of the first magnitude, and however such conduct may be characterized by the Government and its officials, private citizens accustomed to the use of hard, homely English, call it confiscation. The Government lured well-meaning land hunters by fine promises to camp upon their reserves while instructing their agents to hustle them off the premises and confiscate their belongings. The settlers are hopelessly set back in their struggle for an honest subsistence. The Government or the Canadian Pacific Railway, as the case may be, comes into the possession of an improved property, the product of a poor man's toil."

In view of the "utterly fatuous" and prohibitory character of the land regulations of the late Government, the following extract from the *Globe* incendiary, as usual, sounds particularly impudent:

"'An Old Settler' writes to the *Winnipeg Free Press* advocating peaceable separation of Manitoba and the North-West from the Dominion as a remedy for the oppressive customs tariff and railway monopoly under which that part of Canada is suffering, as well as for the fatuous land policy of the Dominion Government. That the people of Manitoba are suffering severe but needless hardships in a variety of ways as the result of misgovernment at Ottawa is manifest to the most superficial observer; but have they exhausted all possible means of redressing their grievances within the constitution? On the last occasion when the Railway question was up before them, they virtually endorsed the policy of disallowing Provincial charters by returning the Norquay Government to power. If the Manitobans really want the railway monopoly broken up they should say so."

The *Globe* heads an article on the 20th

ember, "Manitoba Rights. What Prairie Province farmers think about N. P. Dominion Government arranged. The people's rights as British subjects fairly set forth. Magna charta second." In that it claims:

That the Province should insist upon the absolute control of her public lands, 'including school lands,' by the Legislature of the Province, and compensation for the lands sold for Federal purposes; that the duty of agricultural implements and building materials be removed, and the Customs tariff on goods entering into daily consumption be fully modified in the interest of the people of this Province and North-West; that this Province claims the right of representation in the Federal Cabinet; that it is the duty of the Provincial Government to make such amendments to the Municipal Act as shall empower municipal councils to build or assist in build elevators, grain warehouses, and mills within the limits of such municipalities; that the Convention is unanimously of opinion that the Hudson Bay Railway should be connected with the least possible delay."

Those are some of the resolutions which the *Globe* heads: "Magna Charta the Second!" The foul intention of the agitators of the agitation is rivalled in the resolution proposed at their late meeting in Winnipeg, advising settlers not to go to the North-West or to Manitoba. Another article contains unfounded comments about the Canadian Pacific Railway, freight rates. I shall refer to that subject presently, because it was prominently brought forward by the agitators, and because a statement was made here to which I should take an opportunity to reply. Another article from a *Globe* correspondent characteristically headed "Our West,"—I emphasise the first word—reference almost wholly to the North-Pacific route through Dakota and the mining states and territories. He says:—

"To the many Canadians contemplating emigrating to this coast the following information of route to be taken, as well as other particulars, may prove of interest."

When he describes the different routes, he continues:—

"We were whirled through a fine, well-settled country between St. Paul and Mandan, on the west side of the mighty Missouri, in Dakota, express time, which point we reached in twenty-four hours after leaving St. Paul, the distance being 469 miles. Here an unavoidable delay occurred, which prevented our going till 4.35 p. m. This gave your corres-

pondent an opportunity of looking through the town and ascertaining facts regarding its surroundings. As an agricultural country he is positive that very little of it is to be found along the route of railway in Dakota, west of the Missouri. There may be an occasional bottom that will yield fairly well. The land is dry and sandy and entirely unfit for grain-raising. Extensive grazing districts were reported, as well as rich mineral sections. East of the river, and northward to the boundary line, there is much fine land admirably adapted for grain and stock-raising. Here it is that large Canadian settlements are to be found under the flag of Uncle Sam quite contented apparently. In conversation with many of these, I gleaned the information that while a large proportion were direct from Canada, many were likewise from Manitoba, and had left that country in consequence of the land regulations and so much land being held by speculators, precluding their getting suitable locations whereon to establish themselves.

The truth is Dakota was settled by Canadian pioneers long before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was commenced, following the opening of the Northern Pacific, and they have been living there for many years. If our opponents had commenced building the Canadian-Pacific Railway across the prairie as they ought to have done we would have secured many of those settlers. They went from the western part of Ontario, and they all have nearly the same political proclivities with my hon. friend from Halifax. The *Winnipeg Times* replying to Professor Bryce, who has been making the statement that Dakota is largely populated by Canadians, driven out of Manitoba by the high tariff, says:—

"The Canadian Pacific Railway authorities can convince him that 700 families, number say 2,500 souls, have emigrated from there into the Canadian North-West since May 1. One hundred and sixty-four French-Canadian families have this year settled in the St. Leon district, coming principally from Massachusetts, and they say that hundreds will follow them next season. The railroad statistics show that since 1881, when the work of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway was seriously undertaken, there has been a steady stream of settlers from the American side to the Canadian. For every settler who has left Manitoba for Dakota, twenty have left Dakota for Manitoba. These facts are a sufficient answer to those who are continually saying all they can to injure and misrepresent this country."

HON. MR. POWER—What paper is that from?

HON. MR. PLUMB—It is not from the *Globe*. It is from the *London Free Press*. He may be sure that any paper speaking favorably of Canada is not of the same political stripe as the *Globe*. Under the heading "Manitoba's rights," the *Globe* publishes the platform of the "Manitoba Home Rights Provincial League," in which the following appears:—

"The Tariff was adopted entirely in the interests of the manufacturers and producers of the East, without any reference to the needs of this country. It discriminates against us in favor of Dakota and Minnesota, and justice to our wants imperatively demands its immediate modification, so far at least as it affects Manitoba and the North-West."

A letter from a special correspondent of the *Globe* at Winnipeg is headed "Manitoba troubles. Discontent coming to a head in the Prairie Province. Result of a series of blunders. The farmers will have their rights by some means. Down with monopoly. Threatening to burn elevators and tear up railways. The situation very serious." The correspondent says:

"All through the controversy which has been raging in regard to the Government of this country no newspaper has displayed a fuller knowledge of the requirements of this country than the *Globe*, nor has it gone beyond the mark in predicting that, under good government be at once vouchsafed to us, our position in Confederation will every day become more a matter of form, and that finally we will shake ourselves loose from the monotonous burden and seek some more congenial government. There is no doubt that the Canadians are a loyal people; they love their institutions and their traditions, but they are common sense people as well, and will not allow their generous sentiments to be used against them to compel them to sit still while other loyal people are steadily accomplishing their ruin."

"The day has gone by when, by a peculiar perversion, forms of government were worshipped for themselves, and every Canadian, at any rate, has learned that governments are made for the conveniences of men, and not men for the glory of governments. The day has come when the lumbering blue mould appendages of Government must be scattered to the four winds, and when a system of government is chosen like a particular kind of reaping machine—because it is the best for the purposes for which it is required, and for no mysterious or awful reason whatever. This is especially the case in Manitoba and the North-West. The country is young, the population is made up of all nationalities, people have come here to make money. We

are independent of the eastern Provinces. We are not independent of the United States. We have almost the certainty of a short ocean route to the Old World by means of Hudson Bay, and, in fine, we are too young and too vigorous to be plundered by a number of men under the constitutional guise of a government."

"The feeling in this country is one of discontent and widespread resentment. The organizations which have been formed throughout the country by the farmers are not for the purpose of whiling away the winter merely. It has come to be with them a struggle for existence, under the crushing weight of monopolies fostered and legislation fathered by the Federal Government, and if they are unsuccessful in demanding redress they will either adopt unconstitutional means to bring their troubles before the notice of the Government, or rather gather up their belongings and follow the disappointed train which daily crosses the international boundary. It seems hardly necessary to say what is driving them away. The tariff on agricultural implements is death to them."

In Manitoba City to-day the indignant people are threatening to burn down the elevators and pull up the railway track. Peaceable and practical as the settlers are, special watchmen are required to save the property of these monopolies from devastation. A central indignation meeting will be held at Brandon, on the 26th inst., when delegates will attend from Winnipeg and many towns throughout the country, and in the meantime what should have been peaceful settlements are placarded with hostile posters, damning a long and weary series of monopolies. The evils of the elevator monopoly are due to the Canadian Pacific Railway. Ogilvie built elevators here and there along the track of the railroad. Every bushel of wheat must go through an Ogilvie elevator or be shipped on Canadian Pacific Railway cars. No other elevator can be built because the Canadian Pacific Railway owns the land and will not allow it. Every bushel of grain which is elevated incurs a charge of three cents, and every bushel which is not elevated must be re-shipped at Grena or Duluth at a cost of ten cents, as the Canadian Pacific Railway refuse to allow through cars by other line—and their yards are full of them—to be loaded with any of the grain."

"Is it much wonder that firebrands and rebellion are talked of in Southern Manitoba? Are we to believe reports that four out of every six families there settled will cross the international boundary before another spring?"

"It would be well to remember that though there is a Canadian sentiment here, a sentiment is in any case but limited in its power as a spring of action. It would be well not to forget that the business men of this country are under obligations to Americans for what support they have received and are receiving during this financial trial."

Just after this the general manager of

Canadian Pacific Railway wrote to the *Globe* to say that my hon. friend, Mr. Olvie, and his firm, never had the monopoly of the elevator business; that the Canadian Pacific Railway had certain rules regarding construction of elevators to protect neighboring station buildings from fire, and that any man who wished to build an elevator could get permission to do so, complying with the same rules that were enforced by all the other railways in the West. There are over 300 elevators on the line, and my hon. friend certainly does not own them all. There is competition in wheat buying and storing wherever there is business to warrant it, and there has been every encouragement given to the Company to such competition. The railway was started for the purpose of injuring the Canadian Pacific Railway, the country through which the railway passes, and the Government which had to do with the building of the railway. The *Globe* says, speaking of the land regulations:—

"It is but natural that they compare their condition with that of the settlers whom the reservations and the regulations drove out of the Canadian North-West to be treated very differently at the other side of the line. Mr. Macpherson, unless he is bound to make a material change in the disastrous policy of his predecessor, may easily gain a high reputation by merely undoing as far as possible the mischief that has been done, and by amending the regulations as to remove the lumberless barriers which now stand in the way of settlement."

HON. MR. POWER—Hear, hear! That sound.

HON. MR. PLUMB—Yes, but nothing more. On November 24th the *Globe* stated:—

"Our correspondent whose letter we published yesterday, states once more the grievances of which the settlers in the North-West complain. They are burdened with monopoly, hurried with enormous taxation, harassed and worried by land regulations which are as absurd in some respects as they are unjust in others, and rendered almost inoperative by misgovernment. From some districts it is almost impossible to get the wheat to a market. Those who do reach a market find that, owing to railway monopoly and to an elevator monopoly which has lately been added to all the other grievances, they can get no more than sixty cents, instead of ninety cents which it should now be worth. The complaints of settlers, while they came from individuals, were unheeded at Ottawa.

"The Tory organs say that the North-West land regulations are more liberal than those of Dakota. But as the *Manitoba Free Press* says: 'Dakota's land regulations have not driven Americans into Manitoba. Can it be truthfully affirmed that our land regulations have driven no Canadians to Dakota?' Unfortunately it can not. The whole country is so given over to monopolists, and favorites, and political parasites, and everything is managed so entirely in their interest, that thousands, despairing of justice or unable to find in all that vast territory a place on which they could settle in safety, fled across the lines. And they continue to flee in vast numbers even to this day. Professor Bryce, of Manitoba College, in an interview, the report of which will be found elsewhere, stated that he found a large district in Dakota thickly settled, in which of the two or three hundred families all but twenty or thirty were Canadians. He knows seven Presbyterian ministers, Canadians themselves, whose congregations are Canadians. In the part of Northern Dakota which he knows there are thirty thousand Canadians. These people still retain their love for Canada, and would not have left it if bad laws and misgovernment had not driven them out. What Prof. Bryce says only confirms what has been so often said of the exodus of Canadian settlers from the Canadian North-West. The monopolists, the land-grabbers, the political parasites, and the swarm of adventurers whom the Government would help to devour the products of the settlers' labors, were so greedy that they drove out of the country all the settlers who could get out."

About the time that was written Mr. Moore, a well-known citizen of Toronto, returned from a trip through the Canadian North-West, and delivered an address at Shaftesbury Hall. His address was published in several of the Toronto papers; I could not find that it appeared in the *Globe*. It was a matter of public information, and the newspapers generally endeavor to give such information to the public, but it was favorable to the North-West, favorable to the management of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the lands along the line, and it did not find a place in the *Globe*.

I happened to turn up the *Winnipeg Times* of January 29th, and I found the following article on this question:—

"Wm. Craig, formerly of Waterloo, and now of Northern Dakota, writes to the *Galt Reporter* that the settlers in his district are mostly Canadians and Norwegians. The Canadians are all Grits and rail loudly against Sir John, and the Railway monopoly of Manitoba.

"But it appears they have even greater

grievances than those which their fancy ascribes to the lot of the Manitoba settler. The Manitoba Road and the Minneapolis Millers Association treat them mercilessly. To make matters worse they counted on getting 30 bushels of wheat to the acre, while the usual average is only 17 bushels and the price only 75 cents per No. 1 hard.

"The land regulations have been the means of getting a great many settlers so involved financially, that it will take years of hard labor and privation to extricate themselves, and a great many cases end in the Mortgagees getting everything."

"By way of proving that foreclosures are numerous, Mr. Craig says that some of the buildings in town are literally covered with bills advertising sales of mortgaged stock, mostly horses.

"These are facts which the Manitoba settlers should keep in mind while listening to the rhapsodies of the political agitators about 'going over to Dakota and Minneapolis in a body.' To go from the frying pan into the fire has never been regarded as the part of wisdom. Moreover, while the real grievances of the Manitoba farmers are rapidly disappearing, the farmers on the other side of the line have almost lost hope of obtaining redress. The Millers association and the Railways play into each others hands and say 'public opinion be hanged!'"

I find the following in a paper published in Minnesota, the Minneapolis *Canadian-American*:-

"Canadians, who are in such a dreadful stew over the rates charged by the Canadian Pacific Railway, would perhaps be a little more moderate in their criticisms if they were aware of the freight charges of the Northern Pacific. It is a fact that Union Pacific rates for the same distances are 15 to 30 per cent. higher than those of the Canadian line.

"In charging extortion upon the North-Western Railways, a great deal of recklessness is displayed by the public. The operating expenses of such roads as the Union Pacific, Canadian Pacific Railway, and St. Paul, Minneapolis & Minnesota are at least 75 per cent. higher than those of Eastern lines.

"They have not a concentrated traffic such as the Grand Trunk or roads between Minneapolis and Chicago have to command; and moreover, their traffic may be said to be all

one way, as the cars which carry their wheat east return to them empty, a fact that increases the cost of transportation. Having watched this controversy over the position assumed by the Canadian Pacific towards the wheat growers of Manitoba in respect to frozen wheat, the condition of shipment, and the opportunities offered for the storage of grain, we cannot but express the opinion that the Railway Company have acted considerably and even generously in the matter."

The second quotation is the testimony of a Minnesota paper. Not long ago—and it comes fairly in this connection—a statement was made that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company used their power to extort enormous rates for traffic, disproportionate altogether to the rates charged by other roads.

The *Globe* has made that statement from week to week and month to month, and one of my hon. friends who, I am sorry to see, is not in his place to-day, read a comparative statement of freight rates—a comparison between the first-class rates of the Grand Trunk Railway upon its most settled sections and the first-class rates on the Canadian Pacific Railway in a sparse population; but, be it understood, there is but little first-class freight on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Not ten per cent. of its freight is first class—not 7½—the real comparison is between similar lines and the Canadian Pacific Railway on the freights that the North-West principally requires: salt, wheat, oats, lumber, agricultural implements, &c. I ventured to challenge my hon. friend's statistics at the time he produced them, and now, for the information of the House, I will show that I was justified in doing so. The last tariff of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as compared with the rates on the St. Paul and Manitoba, the Northern Pacific Railway and the Union Pacific Railway, will show how little foundation there was for my hon. friend's contention, or for the *Globe's* charges. The comparison is as follows:

COMPARISON OF RATES ON PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES TAKEN FROM THE TARIFFS OF THE
CANADIAN PACIFIC, UNION PACIFIC, NORTHERN PACIFIC,
AND ST. P. M. & M. RAILWAYS.

DISTANCE.	WHEAT, PER 100 POUNDS.			SALT AND CEMENT. PER BBL. 300 LBS.			LUMBER. PER 100 POUNDS.			LIVE STOCK. PER CAR.			AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS. PER 100 POUNDS.			EMIGRANTS EFFECTS. PER CAR.			COAL. PER TON.		
	Can. Pacific.	Un. Pacific.	Nor. Pacific.	Can. Pacific.	Un. Pacific.	Nor. Pacific.	Can. Pacific.	Un. Pacific.	Nor. Pacific.	Can. Pacific.	Un. Pacific.	Nor. Pacific.	Can. Pacific.	Un. Pacific.	Nor. Pacific.	Can. Pacific.	Un. Pacific.	Nor. Pacific.	Can. Pacific.	Un. Pacific.	Nor. Pacific.
10 Miles	8	5	7	18	16	21	5	5	4	10.00	10.00	12.00	10.00	64	6	7	7	1.00	1.40	1.00	1.00
25 "	10	8	11	26	24	30	6	6	7	18.00	16.00	20.00	18.00	94	18	13	12	1.30	1.80	1.30	1.40
50 "	13	18	16	36	38	48	9	10	11	23.00	26.00	28.00	26.00	144	28	18	19	1.50	2.00	1.50	2.00
75 "	15	19	20	42	57	60	11	15	14	38.00	38.00	40.00	38.00	184	38	24	25	1.75	8.40	1.75	8.50
100 "	17	20	25	48	60	75	14	15	18	39.00	40.00	47.00	42.00	21	38	29	30	2.00	4.40	2.00	4.50
200 "	23	40	41	66	120	123	18	80	27	60.00	80.00	68.00	63.00	80	54	89	48	2.60	7.00	2.60	4.00
300 "	26	60	48	84	180	144	23	45	35	77.00	120.00	90.00	82.00	384	78	50	63	3.80	8.80	3.80	6.00
400 "	28	80	58	99	240	174	27	60	44	94.00	160.00	114.00	95.00	47	98	63	75	4.00	10.80	4.00	8.00
500 "	30	100	68	114	300	204	32	75	54	110.00	200.00	147.00	105.00	55	109	81	85	4.50	12.80	4.50	9.00
600 "	35	120	77	129	360	231	36	90	62	124.00	240.00	172.00	117.00	63	133	95	95	5.70	14.80	5.70	14.80
700 "	38	140	83	144	420	246	41	105	69	150.00	280.00	190.00	130.00	70	153	102	102	6.40	16.00	6.40	16.00
800 "	41	145	95	159	480	255	45	115	75	155.00	290.00	210.00	135.00	76	176	120	120	7.00	17.20	7.00	17.20
900 "	45	148	105	174	540	264	49	115	80	166.00	290.00	220.00	140.00	83	180	130	130	7.50	19.00	7.50	19.00
1000 "	50	145	110	189	600	273	53	115	80	180.00	290.00	240.00	145.00	90	180	137	137	8.00	19.00	8.00	19.00

I think that will effectually refute the assertion that there are such exorbitant charges on the Canadian Pacific Railway, an assertion persistently repeated in the articles in the *Globe* and elsewhere in the press and in Parliament, intended to discourage emigration, and to show that the settler is more liberally treated by roads which are doing the same kind of business, through the agricultural country on the other side of the line. I wrote lately to the manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway calling his attention to a statement in the *Globe* that a bushel of wheat is worth 80 cents in Winnipeg, and the cost of taking it to Liverpool is \$1.07. The manager replied:

"On the opening of navigation our rate from Winnipeg to Montreal will not be far from twenty-six cents per bushel, and as the rates from Montreal to Liverpool average about 83 cents per quarter, the through rate from Winnipeg to Liverpool will probably be something under 40 cents per bushel, including insurances &c."

I also sent him a letter of the Manitoba correspondent of the *Globe* in which he said that a prime necessity in Winnipeg was stone for building cellars; that it was carried over a branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Stony Mountain; that they could not get it elsewhere, and that the rate charged from Stony Mountain to Winnipeg when the Mackenzie Government ran the road was only \$5 per car load of three cords, and that it is now \$14.40 per car of two cords. In reply the manager says:—

"I have to say that I am unable to discover any evidence that there was a railway in operation in Manitoba during the Mackenzie Government, and further that our rate on stone from Stony Mountain to Winnipeg is \$1.20 per ton."

That disposes of another malicious invention. Now, I will finish what I have to say on this subject, by comparing the North-West land regulations, which are so strenuously complained of, with those of the United States. I think hon. gentlemen will see that some reckless and malicious attacks have been already successfully refuted, and will not refuse to listen to what I have to say, so long as it is pertinent to the general argument. The statement upon the land policy which I am about to read from the *Mail*, I prepared myself. I carefully examined the

United States land laws, and the synopsis which I have given is strictly accurate, and can be readily verified by any one who chooses to refer to published regulations.

Mr. Macfarland, the United States Commissioner of the Land Office published his report in October last. He stated that one of the well-grounded complaints made against their management of land affairs was that patents are not issued promptly, and the evil had grown to such enormous magnitude in the United States, that he was obliged to ask Congress to give him a hundred extra clerks to bring up the arrears. I will now read from the *Mail* the article referred to.

A comparison between the homestead policy of Canada and the United States, will show which is most favorable to settlers.

CANADA.

"The head of the family, or any male person not less than 18 years of age, is entitled to a homestead entry."

"Such entry may be for any quantity not exceeding 160 acres in any land open therefor; the even numbered sections, on about eighty millions of the most fertile lands being free for selection until the first of January, 1885. The settler will have the right of pre-emption of an adjoining tract of the same extent as his homestead, which he can purchase at the end of three years, at Government prices. He obtains a patent at the end of three years' residence and cultivation. He may have a second homestead entry, and a third and fourth. He may commute by purchase, after one year's residence."

"A clue to the constant attacks made upon the Government policy, and the misrepresentations in regard to the North-West as a field for settlement, which have been endorsed and circulated with evident satisfaction by the Grit press, has been discovered in the per-

UNITED STATES.

"Any male person not less than 21 years, is entitled to a homestead entry. Such entry may be for any quantity not exceeding 80 acres in the first, or \$250 class, or 160 acres in the second or \$125 class of lands open therefor. The homestead settler has not the right of pre-emption. He obtains a patent at the end of five years' residence and cultivation. He cannot have a second homestead entry. He may commute by purchase, after one year's residence, but it is recommended that this privilege be modified and restricted."

onal interests held by prominent Ontario officials in Dakota. Mr. Ross (Opposition) M.P. for Llagar, in the debate on the Land Bill, last Session, gave another when he stated that 'there are persons in the North-West who act as agents for the United States Government, and the United States railway companies.' The 'fabulous accounts of the exodus from our territories to Dakota are doubtless inspired by the interested persons above named, and it is not a little suspicious that they make mention of Dakota only.'

"Credulous persons will be found always who will fall a prey to land sharks. Those who expected to obtain a homestead at the first Pacific Railway station may think they will be more successful in Dakota. It would be strange, indeed, if there were none disappointed or dissatisfied among the thousands who have undertaken a new life which cannot be wholly exempt from privation and hardship. Some of these may go across the border, but we believe that Mr. Scott, M. P. for Winnipeg, was within this mark when he said in the course of the Land Bill debate that 'for every one who has left for Dakota ten have come from that territory into Manitoba.'

"Many who have been most fortunate in their selections and holdings will find excuse for grumbling in the Dominion tariff, but they will not stultify themselves by changing their residence to a country where a far higher tariff prevails, where the average yield of wheat is less than one-half of that in Manitoba or the North-West."

Now, in the comparison between the two methods, can anyone fail to see how much more advantageous to the settler is that of the Dominion, and I wish here to make and emphasize the statement which I find has not been thoroughly understood even amongst those who are favorable to our land policy, and where it is understood by our opponents it is concealed; that throughout our whole North-West in the Government lands, in the colonization societies' lands, and the railway lands, the homesteader can take up his location on any even-numbered sections which are not already taken up by another homesteader. The even-numbered sections are reserved to him from all colonization grants, from the railway company, and from all large sales; they are reserved exclusively for him and are not locked up as the public generally have been led to believe. He has now 86,000,000 acres to choose from upon terms which could scarcely be made more favorable or more liberal. What can he gain by going to Dakota or anywhere else across the border where tariffs are higher and land

laws infinitely less favorable? The Canadian Pacific Railway opens up 900 miles of fertile lands whose capabilities for production have been fully set forth, and can scarcely be exaggerated. Every facility is offered to the settler or purchaser, and the railway rates have been shown to be far lower than those of any railway in the United States similarly situated. The United States Commissioner says the abuses of the homestead law have been so great that he recommends that the Government repeal the Act altogether. When we are told that our homestead settlers in the North-West are ground down by our tariff it should not be forgotten that they received their lands as a free gift. They took them with a full knowledge that the tariff was in full operation. No one for a moment supposed that they could be specially exempted from it. They certainly have no reason to complain; it was not passed after general settlement began and the hon. gentlemen on the opposite side seem always to forget that there was a seventeen and a half per cent. tariff not only on agricultural implements, but on the greater part of the necessities of life prior to the present increase. Our tariff Act was acknowledged by Mr. Mackenzie to have raised duties only from seventeen and a half to twenty-two and a half per cent. on the average, and yet the argument of our opponents seems to be based on the assumption that we have put the whole tax now levied by the tariff on those articles; that we had found a free list and had levied duties to the average amount of twenty-two and a half per cent. It is well to remember that until 1874 upon the general list of the tariff the rate of duty was fifteen per cent. It was raised in 1874, by Mr. Cartwright to seventeen and a-half per cent. Alarming deficits resulted and to recoup the Treasury and restore the equilibrium between receipts and expenditures as well as to protect our industries, the present tariff, as I have said before, was increased from seventeen and a-half per cent. to twenty-two and a-half per cent. average in the first session of the Parliament elected in 1878, under the sanction of a great majority of members. As an issue at the general election of 1882, it was sustained by the return of a large majority of supporters of the Government.

I think it was due to myself under the hon. gentleman's challenge to vindicate my former assertions in respect to what seems to be a persistent intention to misrepresent the condition of the North-West and of its settlers. I have before me many more extracts from the *Globe*, in support of my position which would take up too much time to read, and I have already trespassed on the patience of the House. At least fifty such attacks as I have noticed have been published in that paper within the six months, all bearing upon and corroborating my statement. During October, November and December, they appeared almost daily. I would not have ventured to address the House this afternoon had I not known that there was no other business before it, and that I should occupy time that would not interfere with the public business. But the hon. gentleman challenged me, and when a statement was made on the other side of the House with regard to the Canadian Pacific Railway rates, I felt that those statements required to be corrected; and the House will see that I have shown that a great political newspaper in this Province and its echoes have taken advantage of every opportunity either by indirection, by innuendo, by insinuation or by direct attack to decry or oppose the progress and settlement of the invaluable heritage of Canada; and also to impede and if possible thwart the operations of the railway which has been making such progress towards opening up that country, and ruin its credit. Within the last two or three days we heard—I will not say exactly how or where, because I cannot refer to a previous debate—an echo of the *Globe* in a statement made on the floor of this House to the effect that a large number of settlers were going to Dakota. It is but a few days ago that the newspaper to which I have referred asserted that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, not satisfied with the advance which had been made to it, had applied to the Government, took it by the throat and demanded another \$5,000,000. It was circumstantially stated, and stated in a way that was calculated to injure seriously, if not to ruin the financial standing of the Company, and although it failed of its intended effect, it was quoted by the "Bear" interest in Wall street and everywhere else where people

were speculating in Canada Pacific Railway stock. The assertion of the *Globe* was that Mr. Stephen, the President, and Mr. Drinkwater, the Secretary of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company were here last week and had an interview with Sir John Macdonald in which they imperatively demanded the loan. At the time Mr. Stephen was in Montreal preparing to go to England, and he actually sailed on Saturday. In the meantime, before his departure, he published a full denial of every statement in the article in question, and it has been denied by a Minister on the floor of Parliament. I wish to call the attention of hon. gentlemen to the fact, to show what reliance can be placed on the statements of a leading journal which lends itself to the promulgation of falsehoods for which it can give no shadow of excuse or justification and, as in this instance, when the falsehood is exposed and refuted, no explanation or apology has been given. Such a course is an insult to its readers and to the public. The hon. gentleman from Halifax, in constituting himself the champion of that portion of the Opposition press which has been hostile to the settlement of the North-West, gave me a fair opportunity to make a statement which I intended to be an exhaustive one, and I believe I have made it so.

I must apologize for having taken up so much time, but everything I have stated has been based upon authority which is authentic in every way, and I shall hand in the memorandum which I have read in regard to comparative freight rates, which I consider most important, to have placed in the record. Dr. Tanner's contradictions of the statement of the *Globe* respecting the conditions of the lands on the Pacific Railway I shall also hand to the reporter; I beg to submit that it is a sufficient refutation of the statement that the original route for the road as located by the Mackenzie Government was a better one than that which now passes through the richer and better settled portion of Manitoba and the fertile belt of the North-West, to state that it reaches the invaluable coal districts of Calgary and Bow River, and I thank the hon. gentleman from Halifax for having, unintentionally, no doubt, given me this opportunity.